

This *bait* I have before translated thus :—

Ranjit Deo peopled this part,
Lachhmí Narain made glad its heart.

I am aware that many more coin couplets exist, but I think the above and those on the coins of Jahángír give a very fair idea of this kind of literature. It is somewhat amusing, and it is curious. It is somewhat helpful in the assigning of coins to their proper strikers. Aḥmad Sháh Durrání used his coin couplet nearly everywhere, but Aḥmad Sháh of Dehlí used no coin couplet, but styled himself on his coins *دولت*. Both these Aḥmads began to reign in the same year. Of course the couplet coins belong to the Durrání. On some coins only part of the inscription comes. A few words from the couplet enable us to assign the coin to the proper king. Besides all this these couplets are historical compositions. They show us the vanity and ignorance of the kings who used them, and the flattery and ignorance of those who made them.

Father Jerome Xavier.—By H. BEVERIDGE, ESQ., C. S.

In looking over our Library Catalogue I noticed the entry of a book by Father Jerome Xavier, called *Historia Christi Persica*, and printed at Leyden in 1639. On getting it out I found that it was a diglot, having Persian and Latin on alternate pages, and that its full title was *Historia Christi persice conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata, ap. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jesu, latine reddita et animadversionibus notata a Ludovico de Dieu*. The author of this work is said to have been a native of Navarre in Spain, and a near relative of the great St. Francis. According to one account he was his nephew. It appears, however, that he ordinarily wrote in Portuguese. He came to Goa in 1571, and there held the office of *Goanæ domus praepositus* (prior?). In 1594 he went on a mission to the emperor Akbar.

This was the third Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court. The first*

* There was an embassy to Akbar in 1578 under Antony Cabral, and there were priests with it, but I do not know if they were Jesuits. Mr. Rehatsek has a valuable article on the Jesuit missionaries in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1886. He quotes Bartoli's work, which I have not seen, though I have read some extracts from it in the *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani delle India Orientali* of Angelo de Gubernatis. Mr. Rehatsek had apparently only access to the Lucknow edition of the *Akbar-náma*, and so states that the only priest mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl is one Padre Farmalyun. The account of Padre Radif, *i. e.*, Father Ridolfo Aquaviva, will be found in Vol. III, pp. 254, 255, ed. Bib. Ind. Padre Farmalyun is mentioned

went from Goa in January 1580 under the leadership of Ridolfo Aquaviva, an Italian, and a nephew of Claude Aquaviva, the head of the Jesuit order. Ridolfo Aquaviva is the Padre Radif of Abu-l-Fazl. He seems to have been a noble-minded man, and when he departed from Agra in 1532, he would take no gift from the emperor except that of the liberty of a Christian slave. He died a martyr's death in July 1583, having been slain at Salsette in a fanatical rising of the Hindús. In 1582 Akbar wrote to the Jesuits at Goa, styling them Dánáyán Farang, or 'the wise men of the Franks,' and asked them to send him translations of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospels, and also some one who could explain the mysteries of religion. It was probably in consequence of this letter* that another mission was sent in 1591. The members of it did not stay long, and came away without effecting anything. Akbar was displeased at their withdrawal, and so a third and last mission was sent under Xavier. He had two companions, Benedict of Goes, a town in Beira-Baxia Portugal, and Emmanuel Pignero. They joined the emperor at Láhor, in May 1595, and stayed with him for several years. Two of them, Xavier and Benedict, accompanied the Emperor and his son, Prince Salím, to Kashmír. On returning Xavier went on with the emperor to Agra, while the other two missionaries appear to have remained behind at Láhor. It was at Agra that Xavier composed his life of Christ. In his preface he tells us that he drew it up at the request of the emperor, who was desirous of having an account of the acts of Jesus Christ. Xavier thought that as he had been forty years engaged in religious work, and had spent seven or eight in learning Persian, he might be able to comply with the emperor's wishes. He finished it, he says, on the 15th Urdi-

at p. 577 of the same volume. I cannot make out who he was, but possibly the name is a corruption of Fra Emmanuel (Pignero). In that case he must have gone twice to Akbar's Court, for the visit recorded by Abu-l-Fazl was in 1589. At p. 669 of vol. III of the Akbarnáma, mention is made of the arrival of a large caravan from Goa on 19th Urdibihist 1003 (28th April 1595), and it is stated that there were several Christian priests along with it. No doubt this refers to Xavier's Mission. At p. 243, vol. III, *l. c.*, there is a curious reference to the arrival at Court of a European and his wife, named respectively Partáb Tár or Bár, and Nasurna or Nasurta. Partáb, we are told, was a leading merchant in Bengal, and there is a further reference to him at p. 320, where it is said that one of the Bengal rebels, Mírzá Naját Khán, went to Salímábád and took refuge with Partáb Bár. Elliot, VI, 59 says that the names of Partáb and his wife (he gives the name of the latter as Basúrbá) are very doubtful. I would suggest that Partáb Tár is perhaps a mistake for Tavarez, who is described by Manrique as a Portuguese captain who went from Hooghly on a mission to Akbar and was kindly received by him at Agra. (*Murray's Discoveries in Asia*, II, 90.)

* Published and translated by Mr. Rehatsek in the *Indian Antiquary* for April 1887.

bihist, 1602 A. D. In a note at the end, he mentions that the Persian version was made by him in conjunction with Mauláná 'Abdu-s-Sanarín Qásim of Láhor. A final note, which was probably added by some Muhammadan, says that the manuscript was accurately written out on the 8th of the blessed month of Ramazán 1027 A. H. (1617). Xavier's work consists of four parts. It is chiefly taken from the Bible, but many legends are introduced. For instance he tells the story of Agbarus, the king of Edessa, relates the legend of St. Veronica, and quotes two letters, one of Pontius Pilate and another of Lentulus, giving an account of the personal appearance of Jesus Christ, etc. I do not think, however, that Xavier acted with bad faith. He tells his readers that he has used other sources than the Bible, and no doubt he believed all that he wrote. His work fell into the hands of Lewis De Dieu, a learned Belgian, who was professor in the Walloon College at Leyden. De Dieu was a somewhat violent Protestant, as one whose father had been driven out of Brussels by the prince of Parma might be expected to be. He himself was born at Flushing, and in dedicating his book to the magistrates of that city, he says that he glories in having sprung from a town which was the first to shake off the Spanish yoke, which sent a relative of the Duke of Alva to the scaffold, and was the origin of the Belgian liberties. "Quæ prima tyrannidis Hispanicæ jugum excutere ausa, Ducis Albani consanguineum patibulo decoravit, et Belgicæ libertatis, qua adhuc felices vivimus, fons exstitit atque origo." A reference to Motley shows that Flushing was the first town to rebel after the conquest of Brill. I do not know who the relative of Alva was, unless he was one of the two Spanish officers who were hanged alongside of the unfortunate engineer, Pacheco, in 1572. De Dieu was a man of worth and learning, and the Jesuit Alegambe admits that his translation of Xavier's Persian is a good one, though he says that he has added heretical notes which deserve to be burnt. There is a notice of De Dieu in Bayle's Dictionary. He is very bitter in his remarks on Xavier, and his object in making the translation and in publishing the work appears to have been to show how the Jesuits adulterated the pure milk of the Word. But still all must feel grateful to him for having been the means of preserving a knowledge of Xavier's curious work.

Xavier was the author of some other Persian works, of which the best known, perhaps, is the *Áínah-i-Ḥaq-Numá*, or 'the truth reflecting mirror.' This work was a controversial one, treating of the superiority of the Christian religion to the Muhammadan. An abridgement of this work fell into the hands of a learned Muhammadan of Persia, Sayyid Aḥmad bin Zainu-l-Ábadín, and he composed a refutation of it, entitled *Miṣqal-i-Şafadar taḥliyah-i-Áínah-i-Ḥaq-Numá*, or 'the polisher for the cleansing of the

truth reflecting mirror.' This again was followed by two rejoinders, one by a father Malvalia, and another and fuller one by father Gadagnol, a Franciscan monk, and published at Rome in 1631. There is something pathetic in the thought of this controversial literature, long so quietly at rest. An account of Xavier's works will be found in the valuable catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, vol. I, pp. 3, 4, and 28.

The Asiatic Society has another of Xavier's works, though it is wrongly entered in the catalogue under only the name of *De Dieu*. This is a life of the Apostle Peter. *De Dieu* published a Latin translation of it, with notes, in the same year that he published the *Historia Christi*, and appended two letters written from Akbar's Court by Xavier and Pignero in 1598. These are the valuable part of the book, for they give a very interesting account of Akbar and his son Jahángír. *De Dieu* took them from a Jesuit work published in 1601. As they appear to be little known, I proceed to give an abstract of them. Xavier's letter begins with an account of Kashmír, which he and Benedict had visited along with Akbar and Salím. He describes a dreadful famine which they saw there, and tells how mothers exposed their children in the streets from inability to give them any food. He then gives an account of Salím's hunting parties, and after this comes an account of the splendour with which Benedict had celebrated the incunabula, that is the representations of the birth of Christ. This leads him to describe the affection which Salím had for the Christian religion. He says that Salím publicly professed his devotion, and had pictures of Jesus Christ and the Virgin in his bedroom. The prince declared that if the Gospel did not prohibit polygamy, it would be embraced by many, for in all other respects it was a holy doctrine and conformable to reason. On this Xavier remarks that it is not wonderful that the prince should find the doctrine of monogamy a stumbling block as, though he is not yet 36, he has already twenty wives. Then comes the following very interesting account of Akbar:

“Rex a natura rara quadam et felicissima memoria donatus est, quo fit ut, tametsi legere et scribere nesciat, nihilominus, quod prudentiores et doctiores quosdam disserentes vel aliorum libros legentes audiverit, nulla sit res cujus aliquam non habeat notitiam. Pauci est et levis somni, bonamque noctis partem in audienda historiarum lectione impendit. Si quis extraneus ad Aulam accedit, subito ad se venire imperat, praesentem minutatim interrogat, quae et quanta viderit, qua transierit. Circa noctis medium horae dimidiatae spatio alio se ad orandum recipit, interim conferunt, et disputant inter se quos apud se habet doctiores, in quos quum aliquando incidissem, inveni examinantes quaestionem

Mauris novam atque insolentem, et ad credendum perdifficilem: Num Deus filium habeat? Curavit mecum disputare quem habet temporum notatorem et observatorem; Chronicum quidam nominant; quem cum paucis convictum repressissem, jussit adesse doctiorem, qui haerentem adjuvaret. Ad quartum lunae importata sunt musica instrumenta quibus plurimum delectatur, et diversa simulacra quorum unum Solis erat, quod diebus singulis primo diluculo veneratur. Sed secum reputans, me posse objicere, Solem non Deum esse, sed rem creatam Deique opus, curavit auferri; confestimque ex oculis evanuit idolum. Allata est postea Salvatoris nostri ad columnam alligati imago, quam vertici (quod Solis simulacro non fecerat) imposuit in signum quoddam reverentiæ et cultus. Grati illi fuerunt de S. Paulo et Constantino Magno ad Christi fidem conversis sermones.

“Narravit viginti prope annos fluxisse, quum 30 infantes, priusquam voces primas formarent, certo loco concludi fecerit, adhibitis custodibus, ne nutrices in earum gremio lactentes ad loquendum pusiones provocantes propriam et nativam linguam edocerent; ut hoc experimento disceret, quo idiomate jam adultiores facti uterentur; quod illius gentis ritus et leges sequi vellet, cujus lingua loquerentur; sed vanas has fuisse suas cogitationes et studia, quod nullus eorum distincte et intelligenter verba formaverit; quare eo tempore nullam aliam a sua legem admississe.

“Post multam tergiversationem et contradicentium conatus, potestatem nobis fecit Cambaiae templum erigendi; idem pro Sindo tentatum impetrari non potuit, ob acres et vehementes quas experti sumus adversantium reclamaciones.”

“The king is gifted with a wonderful memory so that, although he can neither read nor write, he knows whatever he has heard learned men discoursing about, or whatever has been read to him. He sleeps little and lightly, and spends a good part of the night in hearing history read to him. If any stranger comes to Court, he at once sends for him, and minutely interrogates him as to what he has seen, and by what road he has travelled. At about midnight he retires for half an hour for his devotions, and then his learned men assemble and dispute with one another. One night I chanced upon them, and found them discussing the point so new and incredible to Muhammadans, “Can God have a son?” The king set his chronologist* to dispute with me, and when I soon vanquished him, he ordered a more learned man to help the non-plussed one. On the fourth day of the moon, musical instruments, in which he much delights, were brought in, and also some images and among them the

* Perhaps Mír Fathulláh of Shiráz.

likeness of the sun which he worships each day at dawn. But thinking that I might object that the sun was not God, but only a created thing and the work of God, he ordered it to be removed, and straight-way the idol vanished. There was then brought in the likeness of our Saviour bound to a pillar, and this he placed on his head as a sign of reverence and worship, (a thing which he did not do to the image of the sun). He took pleasure in hearing the narratives of the conversions of St. Paul and Constantine the Great.

“He told me that nearly twenty years ago he had thirty children shut up before they could speak, and put guards over them so that the nurses might not teach them their language. His object was to see what language they would talk when they grew older, and he was resolved to follow the laws and customs of the country whose language was that spoken by the children. But his endeavours were a failure, for none of the children came to speak distinctly. Wherefore, at this time he allowed no law but his own.

After much vacillation and many attempts of opponents, he authorised us to build a church at Cambay, but we could not get permission to build one in India proper (?) ”

The Latin is apparently a translation of a Portuguese original, and perhaps does not always convey Xavier's meaning. If the words *ad quartum lune* had been *ad quartam (horam) noctis*, the account would have agreed better with that in the *Aín* (see Blochmann, p. 156). Still the resemblance between Abu-l-Fazl's and Xavier's accounts is striking. It is interesting to have the tradition confirmed that Akbar could not read or write.

The story about the children is curious, and shows that Akbar repeated the experiment of Psammetichus, the king of Egypt, (see Herodotus) on a larger scale. There seems no doubt that Akbar really made the experiment, for Badaoní tells us that he did so in 988 A. H., *i. e.*, 1580, which would be nearly twenty years before 1598 when Xavier was writing. Badaoní's account is very circumstantial. He says that at the end of three or four years all the children who survived were found to be dumb.

The rest of Xavier's letter is taken up with the account of an Armenian who wanted to marry his late wife's niece, and of the danger that the fathers fell into for refusing to celebrate such a marriage. There is also an account of the Hindú Avatárs and of their four ages.

Pignero's letter is written from Láhor and describes some conversions, but does not contain anything of interest at the present time. Xavier's letter shows that Akbar continued to worship the sun down to 1598. It thus adds something to our knowledge of Akbar's religious

views, and Mr. Blochmann's statement, *Aín*, p. 212, that we have no means of following up Akbar's religious ideas after 1596, requires modification. Xavier remained at Court till some years after Jahángír's accession. He eventually returned to Goa and died there in 1617.

I conclude with the following extract from a letter of Sir Thomas Roe. It gives the English version of the Jesuits' successes, and it is also interesting as confirming Jahángír's statement that his father died a pious Muhammadan.

Sir Thomas Roe's letter from Ajmír of 30th October, 1616, page 586 of Purchas, Part I.

"In this confusion they (the Muhammadans) continued until the time of Akbar Sháh, father of this king, without any noise of Christian profession, who being a prince by nature, just and good, inquisitive after novelties, curious of new opinions and that excelled in many virtues, especially in piety and reverence towards his parents, called in three Jesuits from Goa whose chief was Jerome Xavíer, a Navarrais. After their arrival he heard them reason and dispute with much content on his, and hope on their part, and caused Xavíer to write a book in defence of his own profession against both Moors and Gentiles, which finished he read over nightly, causing some parts to be discussed, and finally granted them his letters patent to build, to preach, teach, convert and to use all their rites and ceremonies as freely and amply as in Rome; bestowing on them means to erect their churches and places of devotion, so that in some few cities they have gotten rather Templum than Ecclesiam. In this grant he gave grant to all sorts of people to become Christians that would, even to his Court or own blood, professing that it should be no cause of disfavour from him.

"Here was a fair beginning to a forward spring of a lean and barren harvest. Akbar Sháh himself continued a Muhammadan, yet he began to make a breach into the law, considering that as Muḥammad was but a man, a king as he was, and therefore revered, he thought he might prove as good a prophet himself. This defection of the king spread not far, a certain outward reverence detained him, and so he died in the formal profession of his sect.

"Jahángír his son, the present king, being, they say, of this new fancy and never circumcised, brought up without any religion at all, continues so to this hour and is an atheist."

